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THE U.S. NEO-COLONIALIST POLICY IN SOUTH VIETNAM

For years now, the U.S. imperialists have been carrying out an extremely barbarous war of brigandage against the southern part of Vietnam, our country. Over the past many months, they have committed acts of aggression against North Vietnam, violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Our people are giving full play to their great heroism in the life and death struggle against the enemy, for the salvation of their beloved Fatherland.

This U.S. war of aggression is threatening more seriously than ever the peace and security of the peoples in South-East Asia and the world.

The U.S. schemes against Vietnam dated back twenty years ago.

That was the day after World War Two ended, in August 1945. The Vietnamese people who had fought on the side of the Allied countries against Japanese fascism had just led the August Revolution to victory. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam was founded, embracing the whole of Vietnam, from the North to the South. On September 2nd, 1945, President Ho Chi Minh, on behalf of the D.R.V. Government proclaimed our country's independence before all the peoples and countries throughout the world.

That did not last long under the cover of the Allies, the U.S. Imperialists introduced the Chiang Kai-shek remnants into North

Vietnam, while in the South, the British imperialists provided a screen for the French imperialists' reoccupation of the country.

The French imperialists' war of re-conquest began. And again, our people took arms to resist it.

The Dien Bien Phu victory and the signing of the 1954 Geneva Agreements foiled the U.S. scheme of prolonging and expanding the Indo-China war.

In 1950, at the beginning of the war against the Korean Democratic People's Republic, the United States declared that Indochina was the "combat zone of the U.S. armed forces". They increased their aid in money, weapons and military equipment to the aggressors in Indochina. But the heroic struggle of our people recorded greater and greater successes. In April 1954, the Dien Bien Phu battle was at its height. To the French imperialists who entreated it to save them from their failure, the United States proposed the carrying out of the "Plan Vautour" (Vulture plan) which consisted in massively bombing North Vietnam by the U.S. strategic air force and, if need be, in using atomic weapons. But the criminal plan was nipped in its bud by the complete victory of our armed forces. The U.S. made a new attempt, increasing their manoeuvres to prolong and expand the Indochina war and trying to sabotage the work of the Geneva Conference which had just begun. Their effort were in vain. The Geneva Agreements were signed on July 20, 1954. The late General W.B. Smith, then representative of the U.S. to the Conference, in the name of his country, pledged that the U.S. "will refrain from the threat or the use of force to disturb them, in accordance with Paragraph 4, Article 2, of the Charter of the United Nations..."

During nearly fifteen consecutive years of struggle against imperialist brigandage, our people achieved marvellous feats of heroism. The untold sacrifices they had undergone ensured for them the final victory of their just cause of national independence and freedom after nearly one century of slavery. A new period

of their history began, that of building a new Vietnam playing henceforth its part "in full independence and sovereignty, in the peaceful community of nations" (Point 2 of the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference). That is why the 30 million Vietnamese people, though still meeting many difficulties were filled with profound enthusiasm.

The 1954 Geneva Agreements : recognition of the independence and unity of Vietnam and condemnation of U.S. neo-colonialism.

The United States endeavoured to distort the Geneva Agreements which, as interpreted by them, would perpetuate the partition of Vietnam into two separate states. That is sheer fallacy. The contents, the letter as well as the spirit of those Agreements absolutely present no possible ambiguity. On the contrary, in the light of the debates, two principles were unequivocally recognized the independence and unity of Vietnam on the one hand and the prohibition of interference in the internal affairs of the country on the other.

First, the principle of independence and unity.

"In their relations with... Vietnam, each member of the Geneva Conference undertakes to respect (her) sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity..." (Point 12 of the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference).

As for the military demarcation line at the 17th parallel, it was stated :

"The conference recognizes that the essential purpose of the agreement relating to Vietnam (1) is to settle military questions with a view to ending hostilities and that the military demarcation line should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary..." (Point 6 of the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference).

(1) Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Vietnam.

That is why Point 7 of the Final Declaration stipulates that free general elections should be held in July 1956, after consultations on this subject in July 1955, for the reunification of the country. With the withdrawal of French troops provided for by Point 10 of the Final Declaration, the principle of the independence and unity of the country is thus fully and thoroughly guaranteed.

The second principle, that of non-interference in the internal affairs of the country, is enunciated as follows :

"In their relations with... Vietnam, each member of the Geneva Conference undertakes... to refrain from any interference in her internal affairs" (Point 12 of the Final Declaration).

It was non incident that this principle was enunciated in clear terms. The Indochina war, as is known to all, was largely fed by the Americans in arms and equipment. It is also public knowledge that while the war was raging Washington prepared to oust the French imperialists to take their place in our country through the medium of their henchmen. The danger of U.S. neo-colonialism already threatened our country. The U.S. manoeuvres to attain such aims were copiously denounced during the conference. Thence the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of Vietnam in the Geneva Agreements, which aims obviously at condemning and checking the U.S. schemes.

The United States has declared its intention to undermine the implementation of the Geneva Agreements right after their signing.

The United States now requests the implementation of the Geneva Agreements. But it is only too clear that by so doing, it is aiming at one thing : to seize hold of South Vietnam which it seeks to cut off definitively from North Vietnam.

But nobody has forgotten that to interfere in South Vietnam, it had once realized the necessity to remove the obstacle put up

by the principle of non-interference stipulated in the Geneva Agreements. Therefore, it had repudiated these agreements purely and simply.

On July 21, 1954, that is one day after Bedell Smith took the commitment on behalf of his country, D.D. Eisenhower made the following statement :

"The United States has never taken part in the decisions of the Conference and is not bound by them".

Then, what did the U.S. want ? Here is the answer which can be found in the same statement :

"The U.S.A. is actively carrying on discussions with other free nations with a view to the quick organization of a collective defence in South-East Asia intended to prevent new direct or indirect communist aggressions in that part of the world".

Of what aggression did they speak ?

Two days later, on July 23, 1954, the U.S. Secretary of State, the late J.F. Dulles, gave the answer :

"What imports henceforth," he declared, "is not to deplore the past, but to avail ourselves of future opportunities to ensure that the loss of North Vietnam would not open the way for expansion of communism throughout South-East Asia and the South Western Pacific".

Thus, for the U.S., the Vietnamese people's struggle for their independence against the French imperialists' war of aggression was "a communist aggression" ! And the immediate liberation of North Vietnam from the presence of the French expeditionary corps provided for by the Geneva Agreements was "a loss !".

That is without any doubt the imperialists' viewpoint. When they spoke of preventing "new communist aggressions" in South-East Asia by a so-called "collective defence", they wanted nothing else than to prepare an imperialist aggression against the national liberation movement in this part of the world, first of all in Vietnam, as the late J.F. Dulles himself declared before the Senate Appropriations Committee on August 6, 1954 :

"I hope that a defence line against communism could be drawn which will pass by the north of Hue and protect Cambodia and Vietnam south of the 17th parallel."

Therefore the aggression against South Vietnam was officially announced from Washington right on the day following the signing of the Geneva Agreements.

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The question for them was how to make the plan work.

The solution was also openly announced on July 23, 1954 by the late J.F. Dulles: "To ensure that the loss of North Vietnam would not open the way to the expansion of communism... all free nations concerned should make the most of the lessons of the past. One of these lessons, is that popular support is necessary to the resistance against communism and consequently the people must have the feeling that they are defending their own national institutions."

U.S. imperialism would therefore refrain from direct domination of enslaved countries, an "unpopular" method of old colonialism. It would make use of the medium of puppet regimes in their pay.

That is what we call **neo-colonialism**.

And this policy was conducted in Vietnam while the Indochine war was still going on. In fact, the United States was its money-lender. And in this capacity, they agreed to let the French imperialists lay down their arms only with the condition that the latter hand over to them their succession in Vietnam. That is why in June 1954, while the Geneva Conference continued its work, under U.S. pressure, the French imperialists granted a so-called independence to the "State of Vietnam", a creation by the French expeditionary corps, and afterwards nominated Ngo Dinh Diem, an American creation brought back specifically to this end from his long refuge in the U.S.A., to head this State.

The United States has created in South Vietnam a puppet State the "Republic of Vietnam", a tool for its neo-colonialist policy.

To carry out what they call the "collective defence against communist subversion" the SEATO aggressive bloc was set up in September 1954, gathering under U.S. leadership the imperialist countries most hated by the South East Asian peoples and obviously directed against the national liberation movement in that area.

The first action of this aggressive bloc was impudently to include South Vietnam in its so-called protection area in flagrant violation of the Geneva Agreements.

That was immediately followed by the founding of a puppet State in South Vietnam. In 1955, in implementation of the Agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam, the French expeditionary corps was regrouped south of the 17th parallel pending its withdrawal from the country. It brought along in its wake till Saigon what was called the "Vietnamese State".

By the end of 1955, instead of making preparations for the holding of general elections as stipulated by the Geneva Agreements, the puppet Ngo Dinh Diem, backed by the U.S., proclaimed the founding of the so-called Republic of Vietnam. As it was, the new Republic became a tool for the U.S. to complete the eviction of the French imperialists and chiefly to perpetuate the division of Vietnam in two separate States, which is strictly prohibited by the Geneva Agreements. This crime was openly perpetrated in July 1956 when the "Republic of Vietnam" rejected the proposals made by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in conformity with the Geneva Agreements on the holding of general elections to reunify the country.

The late J. Kennedy, former President of the U.S.A., himself acknowledged in 1956 that the "Republic of Vietnam" was a creation of the U.S. "which has presided over its birth, perpetuated its existence and helped build its future".

In fact, the South Vietnamese people was the first to protest against the unconcealable manoeuvres of the U.S. Neither the

skilfully rigged-up elections nor the solemnly proclaimed constitution succeeded in covering the true colours of the traitors installed behind the show-window of the "Republic of Vietnam". The South Vietnam people's struggle against the puppet State intensified every year so much so that the Saigon authorities, hardly after being put on their place, exerted their zeal to respond to the wishes of their masters, i.e. to transform South Vietnam into a U.S. colony and military base. Conducted in the form of an intense political struggle which finally was combined with the armed struggle, the patriotic movement in South Vietnam, despite the numerous means applied by the enemy to crush it, has in the end shaken the basis of the puppet Republic to such a point that the U.S. had to sacrifice the Ngo family during the November 1963 coup d'état. Since then, the Saigon political state has presented to the amused world an uninterrupted merry-go-round of puppets thrown on the stage by spectacular coups. At present, ten years after its establishment, the puppet administration has become so tottering that its founders feel it superfluous to put on an appearance of popular recognition and it is the American proconsuls in Saigon who directly set up or cancel the supreme organs of the State power, the highest civilian and military authorities of the regime.

As for the puppet army, it counts at present about 600,000 men. It is the pillar of the regime whose task is to facilitate the U.S. military aggression against South Vietnam. It is the U.S. which has given birth to it.

W.S. Robertson, U.S. Deputy Under-Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs on June 1st, 1956 declared: "Our policy in Vietnam can be simply defined as follows:

To support a non-communist and pro-American Vietnamese government and assist it in its efforts to reduce and eventually to eliminate communist subversion and influence.

To help the government of Vietnam build up the forces necessary to internal security. Our first efforts aimed at helping it (the South Vietnam government) maintain police forces comprising a

150,000 strong regular army, a mobile civil guard of about 45,000 men and local combat units against subversion in villages. We are supplying these forces with money and equipment and we have the mission to train the Vietnamese army. We are also helping organize, train and equip the Vietnamese police."

All that is only too clear and needs no comment. The puppet army created, fed, equipped and trained by the Americans is just a tool in service of the U.S. neo-colonialist policy aimed at suppressing the independence of our country and imposing American domination.

Recently, L. Johnson, U.S. President, to justify the war acts committed by the U.S. against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, cited the Charter of the United Nations, Art. 52, according to which he might act by virtue of the collective defence agreements signed with the "Republic of Vietnam". Indeed, masters and flunkies have signed accords on so-called "collective defence". But what these U.S.-puppets accords are worth? First, the very existence of the "Republic of Vietnam" goes counter to the Geneva Agreements prohibiting the creation of a separate State in South Vietnam which constitutes an infringement upon the country's independence and unity. Second, as the "Republic of Vietnam is a puppet State, these accords are nothing but a means for intervention and aggression against South Vietnam. The American review "Foreign Affairs" in its issue of January 1958 frankly put what it had in mind: "We hide our goals under watchwords of collective defence and fight against communism. We know however that these are but mere deceptions."

In short, to achieve their aggressive schemes against South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have carried out a neo-colonialist policy. They have, together with the traitors in their pay, created in South Vietnam a puppet State called Republic of Vietnam, a tool in service of their policy of aggression against South Vietnam, of sabotage of the independence and unity of Vietnam and of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.

It is by means of the puppet State of the Republic of Vietnam that the U.S. launched its "special war" in South Vietnam.

The apparatus of the puppet State once set up has been used by the U.S. to drown in blood all patriotic tendencies opposed to their policy of interference in the affairs of the country and of sabotage of the implementation of the Geneva Agreements and aspiring to national independence and unity. The democratic liberties and rights were trampled underfoot. The most savage terror descended upon South Vietnam with the setting up of concentration camps disguised under the idyllic names of "prosperity zones" or "resettlement centres", with intensified repression of the population with unbridled bestiality.

At the same time, under the watchword of "March to the North", the United States and their flunkies prepared for aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

However, this policy of downright repression was brought to total failure. Instead of consolidating, the puppet regime weakened visibly with each passing day. It was in such conditions that the "Johnson - Ngo Dinh Diem" communique was signed on May 13, 1961, a veritable military alliance with which the U.S. started a new stage in their policy of intervention and military aggression in South Vietnam. A U.S. military Command was set up in Saigon. Dozens of thousands of U.S. military personnel and troops, numbers of aircraft, warships, dozens of thousands of tons of up-to-date weapons and war equipment... were massively introduced into South Vietnam, greatly reinforcing the fighting potential of the puppet armed forces with a view to waging a new-type aggressive war conceived by the Pentagon and more exactly by General Maxwell Taylor, against the struggle for national liberation of oppressed peoples: the "special war".

In their unbridled ambition for world hegemony, the U.S. imperialists are testing the "special war" in South Vietnam to apply it to other parts of the world, in service of their neo-colonialist policy. In their "special war", the U.S. imperialists use

mainly the troops of the puppet administration nourished, equipped and commanded by themselves, while the American troops take part in the operations only to a limited extent. All the experiences, the numerous war methods of the past colonial wars, from the war in Malaya to that in Algeria, are put into practice. The huge war industry of the biggest power in the capitalist world puts in the service of the "special war" various types of particularly barbarous arms of destruction. Even toxic gases have been used in defiance of unanimous protest by world opinion. An immense network of concentration camps disguised as "strategic hamlets" was set up where millions of people were subject to a regime of untold cruelty.

Over the past eleven years, the U.S. imperialists and their flunkies in their pay have launched 160,000 raiding operations, killed nearly 170,000 persons, wounded and maimed by torture 800,000 others, herded over 5 million into some 8,000 "strategic hamlets", "prosperity zones" or "resettlement centres". Massacres of peaceable inhabitants were committed by the dropping of thousands of tons of bombs, including napalm, white phosphorus bombs, and toxic gases..., means of execution and torture of Medieval barbarity have been used such as disembowelling the victims, plucking off their livers, dipping them in boiling water... Vegetation and crops have been systematically destroyed with toxic chemicals.

There is no martyrdom that our people has not endured! We denounce most energetically to the world people and mankind as a whole the odious crimes perpetrated by the Washington bandits and the Saigon butchers against the South Vietnam people in violation of the Geneva Agreements, the Charter of the United Nations and basic human rights.

The utter barbarity of the enemy can but deepen further our people's hatred. In face of this specific form of aggressive war never known in history and invented by the most powerful imperialist country, our entire people, under the leadership of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation set up in

December 1960, have displayed a dauntless spirit of struggle of extreme valiancy inherited from their thousands of years of history. All military strategies, tactics and techniques of the enemy have been smashed.

The Staley-Taylor plan aimed at winning the war within 18 months led to a total failure. The McNamara ink-blot plan of gradual pacification has not fared better. The determination, experiences, intelligence, spirit of initiative and creativeness of our people who are engaged in a life and death struggle for the salvation of the Fatherland have opposed to the enemy various forms of struggle which are absolutely original and highly efficacious and new strategies and tactics which suit our particular conditions of struggle.

Over four fifths of the South Vietnam territory and more than two thirds of the population, or over 10 million people have been liberated. The movement of struggle in the cities against the aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen gains in scope and strength with every passing day and in supporting more and more actively the policy of independence, peace and neutrality of the South Vietnam N.F.L.

The Pentagon warlords soon had to acknowledge themselves in the wrong. In the ricefields, mountains, jungles and cities of South Vietnam the 14 million population mostly composed of peasants, almost unarmed but animated with the invincible determination of struggle and following a just line has shown itself capable of victoriously opposing the military aggression, the "special war" waged by the ringleader of imperialism, the United States, the most highly industrialized and most technically advanced power of the capitalist world.

That is an absolutely new idea which is upsetting the imperialist thinking and arousing the enthusiasm of thousands of millions of people on the globe now engaged in that gigantic struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

To save themselves from ignominious failure, the U.S. imperialists are feverishly, intensifying their war in South Vietnam and expanding it to North Vietnam. In South Vietnam, after having brought the effectives of U.S. combat troops to 70,000 by

July 1965, L. Johnson on July 28 announced the dispatch of another 50,000 men. Quite recently, the U.S. 1st Air mobile cavalry division composed of 20,000 men, 450 helicopters and 1,600 vehicles, on September 11 landed in Qui Nhon and went to station themselves at An-Khe (Binh Dinh province).

The U.S. expeditionary corps has swelled to 150,000 men at present.

Along with dispatching troops to South Vietnam to take a direct part in military operations, the U.S. imperialists decided to increase the puppet effectives by 160,000 and introduced South Korean, Filipino and Australian mercenaries into South Vietnam.

Meanwhile, the U.S. imperialists continue spraying toxic chemicals and sending B-52 strategic aircraft based in Guam and Okinawa to drop thousands of tons of bombs on South Vietnam villages. More cruel still, they have openly used toxic gases to massacre the civilian population and transferred to South Vietnam team 406 of "the U.S. Bacteriological and Chemical Warfare Researches Mobile Institute" established in Sagamiara (Japan).

Defying world protest, the U.S. and its Saigon henchmen have been carrying out more and more intensive bombings and shelling of North Vietnam with aircraft and warships of the United States, thus impudently violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.

In short, the South Vietnam people at present are struggling most determinedly against the policy of military intervention and aggression carried out by the U.S. imperialists for years now by means of the puppet State, the Republic of Vietnam. And our 30 million compatriots have risen up with their highest national pride and are mobilizing all moral energy, all moral and material resources of the nation in the final struggle to drive out for ever the imperialist beast from our Fatherland. They are fully conscious that this decisive struggle will bear a historical importance for the future of our people and make a considerable contribution to the national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against the imperialist rule and to the consolidation of world peace.

The U.S. neo-colonialist policy in South Vietnam is a threat to the peace and security of the peoples in South-East Asia and all over the world.

The U.S. imperialists have constantly been using the puppet State of the Republic of Vietnam to carry out their interventionist and aggressive policy against the other countries in Indochina: Cambodia and Laos. On their orders, the Saigon authorities have brought pressure to bear upon the Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia to make it give up its policy of independence and neutrality and to encroach upon its sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Saigon authorities have also endeavoured to destroy the national unity already achieved in Laos, to sabotage the latter's peace and neutrality which are recognized by the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos.

In Asia, Africa and Latin America, the Saigon flunkys strictly follow the political line of their Washington masters, side systematically with the imperialists and work hand in glove with the puppets in other countries against the oppressed peoples, against the countries and peoples cherishing peace and freedom.

Thus, in Asia, the Saigon authorities collude with Pak Jung Heui in South Korea, Chiang Kai-shek, the Thailand reactionaries, the Philippines... They side with the British and American imperialists against the Indonesian people's struggle to smash "Malaysia" and liberate North Kalimantan.

In the Near-East, they entertain good relations with Israel, universally known as a tool of imperialism against the Arab countries. They did not support the Egyptian struggle against the imperialist aggression by Britain, France and Israel. They supported the military intervention by the U.S. and Belgium in the Congo aimed at quenching the liberation movement there.

In Latin America, they naturally approve and support the U.S. aggressive policy against the Republic of Cuba whose fight against U.S. imperialism sets an example to all Latin American peoples.

It is no accident that the world peoples, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America actively support the South Vietnam

people's struggle against the U.S. neo-colonialist policy and aggressive war. The world people are well aware of the real and great danger posed by that policy to the freedom and security of all the other peoples.

The policy of armed aggression of U.S. neo-colonialism and its representatives must be severely denounced and condemned at the second Conference of Sian and African countries.

The Bandung Conference of Asian and African countries ten years ago declared its condemnation of the policy of intervention and aggression of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. That was the manifestation of the Asian and African peoples' profound aspirations and wishes. As far as Vietnam and Indochina are concerned, the Conference urged the strict implementation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements and voiced condemnation of the aggressive SEATO bloc.

The U.S. imperialists not only have disregarded the decisions of the Bandung Conference but also have trampled them underfoot as they had done with the people's wishes. In South Vietnam, the aggression they are carrying on in defiance of world condemnation is a real challenge to Asian and African peoples and countries.

The Second Conference of Asian and African countries which will be held soon in Algiers will come forward against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. In conformity with the Asian and African peoples' wishes, it will direct its efforts against imperialism and on the question of Vietnam from where the U.S. neo-colonialist policy threatens so dangerously peace and freedom in Asia and Africa.

The Saigon authorities are feverishly manoeuvring to style themselves as the representative of the South Vietnam population, attempting thereby to insinuate themselves in the ranks of the Conference with a view to carrying out the sabotage scheme ordered by Washington.

There will be vain efforts !

Once, there was in Bandung a representative of the French party coming from South Vietnam, regrouping zone of the French Expeditionary corps, whose participation was accepted in this capacity. Since then, however, the U.S. and its henchmen, the Saigon traitors, have sabotaged the implementation of the Geneva Agreements and the resolutions of the Bandung Conference.

The so-called Republic of Vietnam is actually a new-type U.S. colony. This puppet State serves as a tool of aggression against the peace and freedom of the peoples of Vietnam and other countries in Asia and Africa. Its existence, maintained for the needs of the U.S. neo-colonialist policy, the crimes it perpetrated against our people and our compatriots makes it clear that it is the enemy of our people, in South as well as in North Vietnam, and of the peoples in Asia and Africa. The heroic struggle of the 30 million Vietnamese which is supported by the world people aims precisely at liberating the sacred land of our Fatherland from the U.S. imperialists and the traitors in their pay styling themselves as the Republic of Vietnam.

Indeed ! They would have their place at the 2nd Conference of Asian and African countries, but at the pillory which has been already set up for them.

The people of South Vietnam are fully aware that the final victory of their just cause is indissolubly bound to the support of the peace-loving peoples and countries in the world and first of all of those in Asia and Africa. Likewise, the certain victory of our people will bring to mankind an inestimable contribution of international historic import, a boundless confidence in the mighty forces of the peoples, a treasure of experiences accumulated at the cost of our blood, in service of the peoples struggling against imperialism, for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

In this spirit, the South Vietnam people make it a point of honour to send to the 2nd Conference of Asian and African peoples their only legitimate and legal representative, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, which for the past five years, has been officially assuming the leadership of our struggle

against the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen in South Vietnam. Issued from our people's struggle against the U.S. neo-colonialist policy in South Vietnam, for the independence, peace and neutrality of South Vietnam, none other than it will raise its voice to condemn the aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam, to condemn the U.S. neo-colonialist policy against the peace and freedom of the Asian and African peoples and countries. More than anyone else it will defend resolutely the peace and freedom of the Asian and African countries. It has done it for years now in South Vietnam, it takes the pledge to continue this task with all its might and energy. It will lead this sacred struggle till final victory to liberate our beloved Vietnamese Fatherland and to be worthy of the powerful support given everyday to the heroic people of Vietnam from all corners of the world.

THE SOUTH VIETNAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION, THE ONLY GENUINE AND LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SOUTH VIETNAM PEOPLE

Nearly eleven years have elapsed since the U.S. imperialists began their policy of systematic armed intervention and aggression in South Vietnam. For five years now, the Washington bandits have been conducting against our unfortunate compatriots in the South the bloodiest and most atrocious war, the "special war", a form of war of brigandage created by the Pentagon for the needs of U.S. neo-colonialism. But the South Vietnam people who have victoriously fought during long years against Japanese militarism and French imperialism have seen through right at the beginning the aggressive schemes of U.S. imperialism. Faithful to their age-old traditions, once again they are upholding the banner of struggle for the defence of national independence and freedom, against the oppression of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen. The South Vietnam N.F.L. was founded on December 20, 1960, realizing a broad union of all patriotic strata and elements in South Vietnam and since then, the struggle has been vigorously impuled. The different plans and numerous means carried out by the U.S. imperialists in the course of their "special war" have been all irretrievably broken. The 14 million South Vietnamese people are victoriously resisting the armed aggression of the most powerful of the imperialist countries, the United States. The leader and organizer of this struggle is

unquestionably the South Vietnam N.F.L., the decisive political force in South Vietnam and only genuine and legal representative of the South Vietnam people.

The South Vietnam people's patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism, for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality, with a view to peacefully reunifying Vietnam, is a just struggle which conforms with law and will certainly be victorious.

During nearly eleven years of their intervention in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have never ceased to clamour that they want to help our people defend their freedom against so-called communist aggression. On July 21, 1954, D.D. Eisenhower, then President of the U.S., declared that he wanted to "prevent communist aggressions", aiming thereby at the national liberation struggle which was victoriously waged by our people against the aggressive war of the French imperialists. And recently, the State Department published another "white book" accusing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam of aggression against South Vietnam!

The anti-communist signboard put up by Washington to cover up its acts of brigandage is one of the dirtiest undertakings in history. In the Congo and the Dominican Republic, to quote only a few cases, Washington also raised the communist bogey to justify its acts of aggression. But each time the wide-awake public opinion in the world has unmasked the Washington pirates. In fact, in the Congo and in the Dominican Republic there were actually shameless aggressors who are precisely the U.S. imperialists.

In South Vietnam, the question is also quite clear.

When the Americans described the historic victory of Dien Bien Phu as "communist aggression", nobody believed them. On the contrary, this has revealed only better their aggressive design against Vietnam under the signboard of "preventing communist aggression".

The anti-communist signboard put up by Washington has never succeeded in hiding the true colours of the South Vietnam regime, a new-type U.S. colony.

The South Vietnam people's struggle against the foreign occupants and their henchmen is thus a just and authentic struggle for national emancipation aimed at liberating South Vietnam from imperialist oppression. It goes on to complete the liberation struggle waged dauntlessly and determinedly by the people of Vietnam for a century now against the imperialist aggressors. The first national hero of Vietnam was General Truong Dinh of South Vietnam who over one hundred years ago held high with traditional heroism the banner of national independence against the French imperialists. Continuing the cause begun in the past century, the present struggle waged by our compatriots in South Vietnam is animated by the same patriotism which not long ago inspired our ancestors to rise up against the first French aggressors. It is also continuing and developing the glorious and recent traditions of the war of resistance against the French imperialists' dirty war. It is fraternally supported by the 18 million of our compatriots in North Vietnam. Crossing the national boundaries, it joins the huge historic struggle which is arousing on a world scale thousands of millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism and new-colonialism.

As well as it is no accident that our struggle is warmly supported by all the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are fighting against the common enemy — imperialism headed by the U.S. imperialists — the Vietnamese people's struggle is also supported by all peace-loving people throughout the world. Indeed, by smashing U.S. imperialism on our territory, our people contribute to weakening the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism which threatens so seriously the peace and security of the world people. The unanimous support of public opinion in the world to our struggle is particularly reflected in numerous resolutions of different international organizations, meetings and conferences which for years now have unceasingly condemned U.S. aggression in South Vietnam and declared their solidarity with the justness of our sacred cause.

It is the justness of our cause that makes its lawfulness. Moreover, this lawfulness relies on formal texts of international law.

"The Secretariat of the Association of International Democratic Lawyers declares that the South Vietnam people's struggle to safeguard their legitimate rights fully conforms to the principles of the Geneva Agreements, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the resolution adopted at the XVth General Assembly of the United Nations Organization on the necessity to "put an end to colonialism in all forms" (Resolution of the AIDL on February 12, 1961, Berlin).

The South Vietnam people's struggle first of all conforms to the legality established by the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam. In fact, the Geneva Agreements, as is known to everybody, recognize the independence and unity of Vietnam, prohibit all foreign interference in Vietnam's affairs and ban the establishment of foreign military bases, all introduction of foreign troops, arms and ammunition into Vietnam. But, the U.S. imperialists have impudently trampled underfoot all these provisions, thus violating our people's right to independence, destroying by steel and fire our compatriots' right to live and work peacefully. Our people's struggle to defend independence, their struggle to defend their right to live and work peacefully, is recognized not only by the Geneva Agreements but also by the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. Moreover, we have the duty to wage this struggle both for ourselves and for the peace and security of the peoples in South-East Asia and the world. For no one would fail to see that by condemning imperialism, and more precisely French imperialism and U.S. imperialism which have provoked the Indochina war and maintained it during long years, the Geneva Agreements were aimed at establishing a stable and lasting peace in South-East Asia on the basis of the independence and unity of Vietnam and other countries of Indochina.

In this struggle, our people have combined political with armed struggle. The enemy is testing in our country the most ferocious means of destruction and massacre of human lives; it has resorted to methods of repression invented by the imperialists' centuries

ago, coupled with most up-to-date arms of destruction and the latest strategy, tactics and techniques devised by the Pentagon. Therefore, as recognized by the "International Conference of Solidarity With the People of Vietnam against the U.S. Imperialist Aggressors, for the Defence of Peace", held in Hanoi in November 1964, in the situation where our people's existence is threatened, we have no other way than to carry out our legitimate defence with all means at our disposal.

In face of an enemy whose ferocity is unparalleled in history, our people, animated with the spirit of undomitable struggle, have not hesitated in the choice of means of struggle. Thus they have succeeded in foiling the U.S. imperialists' "special war". The resounding successes recorded over the past years by our people's struggle, which were enthusiastically welcomed in 1965 by public opinion in the world, the irretrievable desintegration of the puppet administration and army in South Vietnam have thrown the Washington bandits into great confusion. L.B. Johnson himself confessed in one of his latest speeches that "no military solution is possible" in South Vietnam.

Yes, our struggle will be victorious !

Our victory is as unavoidable as light will spread at sunrise after the darkness of the medieval night in which the untold barbarities of the American imperialist beast have plunged our people for more than ten years now.

The South Vietnam N.F.L. issued from our people's struggle against the U.S. imperialists' aggression, for the liberation of South Vietnam, represents the profound aspirations of the South Vietnam people and is the leader and the organizer of this struggle.

Our people's struggle from its first hours has involved broad masses of the population. The people of all walks of life, nationalities and religious communities and all patriotic elements of the country are engaged in the fight. The union of all these forces is possible on the basis of their common aspirations. This is

necessary for the final victory of a fight which right from the outset has proved to be a very long and very hard one. That is why one after the other, the South Vietnam people, endowed with the rich experiences accumulated in the course of their resistance against French imperialism, have quickly found out the only form of organization capable of rallying and mobilizing all forces of the broad patriotic movement which was animating the entire people : the South Vietnam National Front of Liberation.

Thus, the South Vietnam N.F.L. is not a creation imported from outside. On the contrary, it came from the depths of the popular masses. It is neither originated from an ideology alien to the people. Instead, it is the most profound patriotism, the love for independence and freedom which was so valiantly demonstrated by our people in their liberation war against French imperialism that determined its founding.

Moreover, long before the founding of the Front, the struggle against the imperialists and the traitors had already begun in varied forms. The South Vietnam N.F.L. has but achieved the broad union of all struggling patriotic forces and elements to co-ordinate their efforts and lead them along a common political programme reflecting the people's profound aspirations in order to bring the organized struggle to victory.

No wonder therefore that the appeal launched by the Front right on its founding day resounded deep in the hearts of our southern compatriots.

"Let all of us rise ! Let all of us unite !

Let us close our ranks and fight under the banner of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation to overthrow the rule of the U.S. imperialists and Ngo Dinh Diem, their henchmen ! We must won independence, democracy, food and clothes, peace and reunification of our Fatherland !"

In the practical conditions of history in South Vietnam, the political programme proclaimed by the South Vietnam N.F.L. obviously expresses the unanimous aspirations of the entire people of South Vietnam, except of course the traitors in the pay of the U.S. imperialists.

"The South Vietnam N.F.L. undertakes to unite all sections of the population, all social classes, all nationalities, all political parties, all organizations, all religious communities and all patriotic personalities, irrespective of political tendency in order to struggle and overthrow the rule of the U.S. imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, henchmen of the Americans, to achieve national independence, democracy, peace, neutrality with a view to peacefully reunifying the Fatherland."

(Excerpt from the Manifesto of the South Vietnam N.F.L. of December 20, 1960).

In reality, it is because they suffer from the U.S. imperialists' rule that the South Vietnam people aspire first of all to national independence. It is because the regime of the U.S. and its flunkies is a fascist dictatorship which barbarously represses the people and exploits them to the marrow that the latter long for democratic rights and liberties, the right to live, to work and to enjoy the fruit of their labour. It is because South Vietnam has suffered from war devastation for more than twenty years that it ardently cherishes peace. In the present circumstances of the de facto partition of the country into two zones having two different social regimes, to ensure a foreign policy of neutrality in South Vietnam is a realistic policy, creating favourable and necessary conditions for bringing together step by step the two zones so as to advance toward peaceful reunification of the country.

Vietnam is one, the Vietnamese nation is one and indivisible. The will for unity is a manifestation of the profound and unbreakable aspiration to independence of our people.

The South Vietnam N.F.L. not only abides by the general political line of the December 20, 1960 Manifesto. It has put forth a program of action which clearly defines the solutions to concrete problems arising from the present situation in South Vietnam: to defeat the colonial, fascist regime of the U.S. imperialists and the dictatorial, fascist power of their flunkies, to set up a genuinely democratic administration of national union encompassing representatives of the people of all walks of life, all nationalities, all political parties, religious communities and

at the same time realize in South Vietnam a broad and progressive democracy with nation-wide elections and the respect for democratic rights and liberties...; to build an independent economy, improve the people's living conditions, abolish the monopoly of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, develop national industry, reduce land rent, ensure land for the tillers...; to build up a culture and education having a national and democratic character...; to carry out a foreign policy of peace and neutrality, abolish unequal treaties reached between the henchmen of the U.S. and their masters; respect the Bandung principles of peaceful coexistence; to carry out a policy of close solidarity with peace-loving countries, especially Cambodia, Laos and other South-East Asian countries...; restore normal relations between the two zones of Vietnam with a view to peacefully reunifying the country...; and struggle against imperialism, against aggressive wars and defend world peace.

The N.F.L. Manifesto and programme of action have helped it quickly broaden its ranks among broad masses of the South Vietnam people. It rallies at present more than twenty patriotic and democratic organizations and parties, the movement for autonomy of the nationalities in the Western Plateaux, and numerous personalities, including whole units and persons who left the puppet army and administration to join in the people's struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen.

The ranks of the organizations and political parties affiliated to the Front have unceasingly broadened and comprise at present 5 million persons among the most active elements of the population, of which 10% are Khmer nationals and minorities living in the Western Plateaux. Noteworthy is that the people's armed forces and liberation army have grown at an accelerated tempo in numbers as well as in combative strength. If the sympathizers and those who accept the leadership of the Front, even in the cities and areas under temporary control of the enemy, are included, the fighting army of the Front now counts nearly 9 million members.

With its broad organization, the South Vietnam N.F.L. is actually the leader and the organizer of the South Vietnam

people's struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen. Five years have elapsed since the South Vietnam N.F.L. officially declared assuming its historical task before our people and the world people. The remarkable successes recorded by our people are increasing day by day and have shaken the imperialist rule over South Vietnam to its foundation. At present more than four fifths of South Vietnam's territory and more than two thirds of its population, i.e. 10 million inhabitants, have been freed from slavery. The urban people's struggle is expanding more and more, rousing the urban masses to co-ordinate with the country people against the U.S. and its henchmen. The prodigious successes of our people in their struggle for national liberation, against the atrocious war of extermination waged by the Washington pirates are inseparable from the leadership and organizations of the South Vietnam N.F.L. Such successes could not be obtained without the clear-sighted and highly efficacious leadership of the South Vietnam N.F.L. Born in the heat of the struggle of the popular masses which are animated by an absolutely indomitable struggle, the South Vietnam N.F.L. and its powerful fighting organizations are more and more deeply rooted in the masses to educate, organize and help them wage the multifarious struggles against the aggressors.

The South Vietnam N.F.L. is the only genuine and legal representative of the South Vietnam people.

As is known to everybody, the South Vietnam people have, over the past nearly 25 years, fought and endured great sacrifices for their freedom. They have fought against Japanese imperialist occupation, against the rule of the French colonialists and are fighting at present against the U.S. imperialists. From 1945 onward, together with the entire Vietnamese people, they were officially and legally represented by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. But since 1954, with the prolonged partition of the country following the sabotage by the

U.S. imperialists and their flunkys of the free nation-wide general elections aimed at reunifying the country provided for by the 1954 Geneva Agreements, South Vietnam has become a new-type U.S. colony.

Who could represent the South Vietnam people now? Is it the Americans and their henchmen? Certainly no! Quite the contrary! The latter are precisely the enemy of our people, the traitors of our Fatherland!

But, they said, there is a Republic of Vietnam founded following popular consultations and recognized by many countries! These thoroughly hackneyed proceedings of U.S. neo-colonialism are public knowledge. They could in no way hide the true nature of the regime: a new-type colony of the U.S.; new-type because, contrarily to old colonialism which did not care about the forms, the present colonial regime in South Vietnam is camouflaged under an appearance of independence and sovereignty.

The essential is to have a genuine support of the people. But there has never been such thing in the so-called Republic of Vietnam. On the contrary, the South Vietnam have spurred the Saigon regime and risen up against it.

This struggle is a just, undeniably and irrefutably just struggle. It is precisely this justness of the struggle that denies to the henchmen of the Americans the right and the qualification to represent the South Vietnam people. On the contrary, it nails them to the pillory as traitors to the Fatherland! That is not merely abstract reasoning. It is a flagrant reality which takes place every day and every hour in Saigon. Protected by a profusion of U.S. weapons and U.S. imperialist troops, assisted by South Korean mercenaries and units from such satellite countries of the U.S. as Australia, New Zealand, and the Philippines, encircled by the people's hatred, the Saigon puppets are spending most of their time vying with each other in serving their American masters, in the hope of winning a substantial award before their ultimate and unavoidable doom.

No! to those despicable men, the South Vietnamese grant no right except that to receive well-deserved punishment meted out to any betrayers to the Fatherland!

Confronting them, since its foundation, the South Vietnam N.F.L. has stood firm, side by side with the people of South Vietnam who created it and unite closely in its midst, who assault enemy positions under its direction, and faithfully realize its political programme. The prestige and authority of the N.F.L. has penetrated and strengthened steadily in the areas temporarily occupied by the enemy.

Is there any other more authentic representative of our South Vietnamese people than that which originates from their flesh and blood and leads them to win independence and freedom?

Not only is it the authentic representative, but also the only authentic representative of the South Vietnam people. For none other than it can reflect the people's profound aspirations to independence and unity and display so strong a determination to realize them through complete abolition of the abhorred regime of U.S. imperialism!

The South Vietnam N.F.L. also proves itself as the legal representative of the people in South Vietnam. Indeed, is there any other more authentic legality than that of the South Vietnam people's struggle against U.S. imperialism for their own liberation, considering the justness of that cause, considering its conformity with the Geneva Agreements, considering the fraternal support accorded to it by the entire Vietnamese people? The indisputable lawfulness of the South Vietnam people's struggle determines the legality of its leader and organiser, of its only genuine representative, the South Vietnam N.F.L.¹ Is there any other more authentic legality than the recognition by the people? The decrees issued in Washington could grant to the traitors in their service no legality against our people's interests. Only the South Vietnam people and they alone are free to choose their own representatives, and give them the authority to act in their name. That is a universally known principle of the people's right to dispose of themselves. That is precisely the case of the South Vietnam N.F.L. which is entrusted with a supreme authority, that to destroy the disgusting U.S. imperialist beast on the sacred

soil of the Fatherland, to proclaim loudly and ever more loudly, throughout the world and for thousands of centuries to come, the Vietnamese people's unshakeable will for independence, unity and peace.

The South Vietnam N.F.L. is fulfilling and will fulfil well this mission.

And it does this so well that the 18 million of our compatriots in North Vietnam accord it full and complete confidence. For them, the South Vietnam N.F.L. is without any doubt the only authentic and legal representative of the population of South Vietnam. Therefore complete unanimity is achieved among the more than 30 million people of Vietnam, from Lang Son to Ca Mau, except — and one knows why — the despicable Washington hangmen and their flunkies. From the tormented land of South Vietnam, together with its only authentic and legal representative, the South Vietnam N.F.L., the South Vietnamese population has risen up with the greatest heroism against U.S. imperialist aggression.

It is necessary to add a recognition no less important, the existence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. There is a historical fact that no brain trust of Washington could blot out from Vietnam's history and from the hearts of our people. That is, in 1945 and in the following years, in the middle of the present century, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam held high the banner of our people's national independence and recorded successes of historical importance not only for our own country but also for the whole colonial system of imperialism. It is also under the leadership of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam that the North Vietnamese people have unceasingly raised their living standards, realized a monolithic union directed against the schemes of imperialism. In fact, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam unreservedly supports the South Vietnam N.F.L., the only authentic representative of South Vietnam.

In short, the South Vietnam N.F.L., the decisive force in the present situation in South Vietnam, is unquestionably recognized by the entire Vietnamese people, by the people of South Vietnam, as the only authentic and legal representative of South Vietnam.

The South Vietnam N.F.L. closely unites with the Asian and African peoples in their struggle to wrest back and defend their independence, peacefully build their countries against the schemes of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

History has set for the Asian and African countries as a primary task to struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism to win and defend their independence and build peacefully their future. That was the guiding idea at the 1955 Bandung Conference. The condemnation of the schemes of war and aggression of imperialism, the ten principles of peaceful coexistence put forth by the Conference are of historical importance for the development of the Asian and African countries over the past ten years.

As far as Vietnam is concerned, the Conference has urged the thorough implementation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, thus recognizing in a very timely manner the struggle of our entire Vietnamese people, as well as the population of South Vietnam, for independence and unity against the manoeuvres of intervention and aggression of the U.S. imperialists which had already been quite visible.

The struggle of the South Vietnamese people, waged by themselves for their own emancipation under the leadership of the South Vietnam N.F.L., constitutes a powerful contribution to the annihilation of the imperialist forces, to the emancipation of the Asian and African countries. Moreover, the South Vietnam N.F.L., in contrast with the U.S. henchmen in Saigon, has always stood by the side of the countries in Asia and Africa against imperialism. It energetically supports the policy of independence and neutrality of Cambodia under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, it also energetically supports the Laotian people in their struggle to ensure application of the policy of national union, independence and neutrality and respect for the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos, against the U.S. intervention and aggression. It supports Indonesia in her struggle to smash Malaysia and liberate North Kalimantan. It supports the Korean

people's struggle for the national reunification, the Chinese people's struggle for the return of Taiwan to the People's Republic of China, the Japanese people's struggle for the return of Okinawa to Japan and the dismantlement of the U.S. military bases in Japan. It supports the struggle of the peoples of Angola the Congo, the so-called Portuguese Guinea, Cape Verde, Mozambique, South Africa... against the manoeuvres of imperialism, the struggle of the Arab countries against the plots of Israel, notorious tool of imperialism.

In return, the peoples and countries in Asia and Africa have constantly shown their warmest solidarity with the people of South Vietnam in the struggle against the common enemy, imperialism, headed by the U.S. Many international conferences of the peoples of Asia and Africa and most recently, the 4th Conference for Asian-African Solidarity held in Ghana, have adopted many resolutions supporting our people's struggle under the leadership of the South Vietnam N.F.L.

It is thus clear that by their struggles, their mutual support and their militant solidarity against imperialism, our people in South Vietnam and the peoples of Asia and Africa have grasped and put into practice the principles of the Bandung Conference.

The forthcoming Conference of Asian and African countries will meet in the spirit of Bandung and develop its principles by practical deeds. As in the past, the people of South Vietnam will be proud of taking part in this Conference and will contribute their share to the liberation of the Asian and African countries by their active struggle against U.S. imperialism and their solidarity actions with the Asian and African peoples. They will sent to the Conference their only authentic and legal representative, the South Vietnam N.F.L. Its presence will certainly contribute to the success of the Conference since it is at present standing on the front line of the world people's front struggling against the enemy number one of mankind, U.S. imperialism.

In its statement of March 22, 1965, the South Vietnam N.F.L. said : "Once again, on behalf of the 14 million people of South Vietnam, the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation expresses deep gratitude to the peoples of

the socialist countries, the nationalist countries, the international organizations and the peace-and justice-loving peoples throughout the world who have wholeheartedly supported the just, patriotic war of resistance of the South Vietnamese people. More than ever we consider it our glorious internationalist duty to devote all our energy and make all sacrifices to contribute a worthy share to the very great common cause of struggle of all nations to defend independence, democracy, peace and social progress in Indochina, South-East Asia and all over the world and to defeat the international gendarme the warlike and aggressive U.S. imperialists."

The people of South Vietnam, the entire Vietnamese people, are going through grave hours because for many months now, U.S. imperialism has intensified the war in South Vietnam and expanded it to North Vietnam with all its bestial ferocity.

More than 30 million of our compatriots are daily and hourly valiantly making their sacrifices in blood to live up to the solemn pledge they have made.

At the forthcoming Algiers Conference, side by side with our blood-sealed brothers of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, in our capacity as the only authentic and legal representative of Vietnam, the South Vietnam N.F.L. will once again strengthen by that promise the unshakable friendship and solidarity between the Asian and African countries and our Vietnamese people !